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RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /149 W

O R 302230Z OCT 73 FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 370 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 004

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 8965

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: U.S. OPENING STATEMENT

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF US OPENING STATEMENT FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AS INTENDED FOR DELIVERY MORNING OF OCTOBER 31. BEGIN TEXT:

OPENING STATEMENT OF U.S. REPRESENTATIVE

- 1. MY GOVERNMENT WARMLY WELCOMES THE BEGINNING OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUR-OPE.
- 2. A GREAT CHALLENGE LIES BEFORE US. CENTRAL EUROPE IS THE FOCUS OF ONE OF THE GREATEST CONCENTRATIONS OF MILITARY POWER IN PEACETIME HISTORY. FOR MORE THAN TWO DECADES, THE ARMED FORCES OF EAST AND WEST HAVE CONFRONTED EACH OTHER THERE. THIS CONFRONTATION HAS GIVEN RISE TO ABIDING APPREHENSION AND CONCERN. AND IT REPRESENTS A FORMIDABLE BURDEN SECRET

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ON US ALL.

3. THE TIME HAS COME TO CHANGE THIS SITUATION. SUCCESSIVE CHANGES IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS HAVE MADE

IT POSSIBLE TO SEEK TO REDUCE THE SCALE AND INTENSITY OF THE CONFRONTATION.

- 4. THIS IS SURELY ONE OF THE CENTRAL TASKS OF OUR TIME. IT IS ALSO A DELICATE ONE. THE PRESENT SECUTITY SITUATION IN EUROPE IS UNSATISFACTORY IN MANY WAYS, BUT WE WOULD NOT WISH IT TO WORSEN THROUGH UNWISE MEASURES. THEREFORE, WE MUST CARRY OUT OUR TASK IN SUCH A WAY AS TO STRENGTHEN PEACE AND STABILITY IN EUROPE, NOT WEAKEN THEM. THE STRUCTURE OF SECURITY IN EUROPE IS A DELICATE ONE, AND IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL WE WILL HAVE TO PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY AND STEP BY STEP, REALIZING THAT ALL PARTIES WILL WISH TO BE ASSURED OF THEIR SECURITY AT EACH STATE.
- 5. WE DO NOT EXPECT THIS TASK TO BE EASY. THESE NEGOTIATIONS REPRESENT A RADICAL NEW DEPARTURE IN INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY. THERE HAS BEEN NOTHING QUITE LIKE THEM BEFORE. BOTH IN THE SUBJECT MATTER THEY WILL ADDRESS AND IN THEIR PATTERN OF PARTICIPATION, THEY BREAK NEW GROUND. BUT THEIR IMPORTANCE JUSTIFIES AN EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT ON THE PART OF US ALL.
- 6. MY GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS A PRACTICAL ONE. WE ARE INTERESTED IN CONCRETE RESULTS. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE NOT SETTING ANY ARTIFICIAL DEADLINES FOR OURSELVES. WE CONSIDER THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD MOVE AHEAD AT A STEADY, EVEN TEMPO, KEEPING PACE WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, WITHOUT AN ARTIFICIAL, PRE-ORDAINED PATTERN OF BREAKS.
- 7. FURTHER, WE WILL STRIVE FOR A BUSINESS-LIKE ATMOSPHERE. WE ARE HERE TO PERFORM A SPECIFIC TASK. WE ARE INTERESTED IN SEEKING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS WE WILL HAVE TO SECRET

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ADDRESS TOGETHER. WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN POLEMICAL DEBATES. MANY ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER ARE CONTROVERSIAL, AND VIEWPOINTS WILL DIVERGE. WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IN THIS CONTEXT IF ALL PARTICIPANTS MADE IT A CONSCIOUS RULE TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT MATTER AND PRESENT THEIR POINTS OF VIEW IN TERMS OF CONCRETE, OBJECTIVE FACTS, AND NOT IN TERMS OF THE PRESUMED INTENTIONS OF OTHER PARTICIPANTS.

8. THE ENTERPRISE ON WHICH WE ARE NOW EMBARKING PROVIDES US WITH AN OPPORTUNITY OF HISTORIC IMPORTANCE TO MOVE FROM CONFRONTATION TO NEGOTIATION ON A PROBLEM AREA OF KEY IMPORTANCE FOR ALL OF US.

THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE IS THE PRODUCT OF HISTORY. IT IS A RESULT OF PAST TENSIONS, AND AT THE SAME TIME A CAUSE OF TENSION. IN KEEPING WITH THE BUSINESS-LIKE AND OBJECTIVE SPIRIT WHICH I HAVE SUGGESTED SHOULD GOVERN THE TONE OF OUR DISCUS-SIONS, WE DO NOT WISH TO ENGAGE IN DEBATES OVER HOW OR WHY THE PRESENT SITUATION AROSE. WE SHOULD MOVE DIRECTLY TO THE TASK OF SEEKING TO CHANGE THAT SITUA-TION IN WAYS THAT WILL BENEFIT ALL OF US. THUS, WE HOPE TO REDUCE THE RISKS FOR ALL ARISING FROM MIS-CALCULATION. MISUNDERSTANDING OR MISINTERPRETATION OF ACTIONS OF EITHER SIDE. OUR MAIN TASK WILL BE TO ACHIEVE A MORE STABLE MILITARY BALANCE AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES WITH UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, UN-DIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THESE TALKS. IF WE CAN ACHIEVE THIS GOAL -- AND MY GOVERN-MENT BELIEVES WE CAN -- THEN AN MBFR AGREEMENT OR AGREEMENTS WILL BE A HIGHLY IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO SGRENGTHENING PEACE, SECURITY AND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IN EUROPE AND TO IMPROVED, MORE FRUITFUL RELATIONS AMONG US ALL. SUCH A RESULT WOULD BE WELCOMED BY ALL OUR PEOPLES. WITH THIS PROSPECT BEFORE US. MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL TEST THE WILLINGNESS OF ALL PARTICIPANTS TO ADDRESS AND TO RESOLVE THE HARD, CONCRETE MILITARY SECURITY ISSUES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

9. OUR NEGOTIATIONS WERE PRECEDED EARLIER THIS SECRET

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YEAR IN VIENNA BY PREPARATORY TALKS. IN THOSE TALKS, THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES WERE AGREED AS GUIDANCE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS:

- --MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WOULD BE CONSIDERED.
- --THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS
 WILL BE TO CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP
 IN EUROPE AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND
 SECURITY
- --IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AN UNDERSTANDING SHOULD BE REACHED TO CONDUCT EHEM IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ENSURE THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND THOROUGH APPROACH TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, WITH DUE REGARD TO ITS COMPLEXITY.
- --SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY WORKED OUT IN SCOPE AND TIMING IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY WILL IN ALL RESPECTS AND AT EVERY POINT CONFORM TO THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR EACH PARTY.

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O R 302230Z OCT 73 FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 371 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 005

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 VIENNA 8965

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: U.S. OPENING STATEMENT

--ANY TOPIC RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT MATTER MAY BE INTRODUCED FOR NEGOTIATION.

10. WE BELIEVE THESE AGREED GUIDELINES FORM A SOUND BASIS FOR OUR WORK. THE PROPOSALS WE WILL MAKE DURING THE COURSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, AND OUR APPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES, WILL BE CONSISTENT WITH THESE GUIDELINES.

11. IN THE PREPARATORY TALKS, WE ALSO AGREED ON PROCEDURES FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS. WE FEEL THAT NO FURTHER GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PROCEDURAL MATTERS IS NEEDED AT THIS TIME. OUR TASK IS NOW TO ADDRESS QUESTIONS OF SUBSTANCE RELATING TO THE SUBJECT MATTER. WE BELIEVE THAT DAY-TO-DAY PROCEDURAL BUSINESS, SUCH AS THE SCHEDULING OF MEETINGS, CAN BE SECRET

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HANDLED IN APPROPRIATE WAYS.

12. THE PREPARATORY TALKS RECORDED AGREEMENT ON

A FURTHER POINT: NAMELY, THE REGION ON WHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL FOCUS. THAT REGION WAS DEFINED IN THE JUNE 28 COMMUNIQUE AS CENTRAL EUROPE.

13. BASED ON THE POINTS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN US WHICH I HAVE JUST ENAMERATED, I SHOULD LIKE NOW TO OUTLINE FOR YOU THE GENERAL APPROACH OF MY GOVERNMENT TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

14. IN OUR VIEW, THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS THE SIZE, CHARACTER, AND ACTIVITIES OF ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

15. WE AIM TO REDUCE THE SIZE OF THOSE FORCES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO LEAD TO A MORE STABLE MILITARY BALANCE AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES WHILE MAINTAINING UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR EACH PARTY.

16. WE AIM AT AFFECTING THE CHARACTER OF THESE MILITARY FORCES BY REDUCING THOSE ASPECTS OR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FORCES WHICH ARE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO US BECAUSE OF THEIR INTRINSIC CAPABILITIES. AGREEMENTS ON TOPICS OF THIS KIND WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE CREATION OF A MORE STABLE MILITARY BALANCE.

17. FINALLY, WE AIM AT DEALING IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ACTIVITIES OF THESE MILITARY FORCES IN A MANNER WHICH WILL MINIMIZE THE RISK OF MISCALCULATION, SURPRISE, OR THEIR USE IN A DESTABILIZING MANNER. AGREEMENTS ON MEASURES TO ACCOMPLISH THIS WOULD ALSO ENHANCE STABILITY AND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE.

18. WE HAVE AGREED THAT THE OUTCOME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE ONE WHICH PRESERVES UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR EACH PARTY. NO PARTICIPANT OR GROUP OF PARTICIPANTS SHOULD GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FROM AN AGREEMENT. IT IS THE CONSIDERED VIEW OF SECRET

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MY GOVERNMENT THAT THE AIMS I HAVE OUTLINED ABOVE WITH RESPECT TO THE SIZE, CHARACTER AND ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE CAN AND SHOULD BE REALIZED IN A MANNER THAT PRESERVES UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR MY COUNTRY AND ALL ITS ALLIES WHEN APPROPRIATE ACCOUNT IS TAKEN OF SIGNIFICANT, OBJECTIVE DISPARITIES AFFECTING THE CURRENT SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THE DISPARITIES WHICH WE VIEW AS OPERATING TO OUR DISADVANTAGE IN CENTRAL EUROPE ARE: DISPARITIES IN MANPOWER, IN THE CHARACTER OF FORCES, AND IN GEOGRAPHY.

19. LET ME ELABORATE ON THESE. IN MANPOWER, THE

COUNTRIES OF THE WARSAW PACT HAVE MORE GROUND PERSONNEL ON ACTIVE DUTY IN CENTRAL EUROPE THAN DOES NATO. WE CONSIDER THAT TO NARROW AND FINALLY ELIMINATE THIS DISPARTITY IN MANPOWER THROUGH MUTUAL REDUCTIONS WOULD IMPROVE STABILITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

20. WITH RESPECT TO CHARACTER OF FORCES, THE WARSAW PACT FORCES MAINTAIN A CONCENTRATION OF HEAVY ARMOR IN CENTRAL EUROPE. I HAVE SAID THAT WE SHALL SEEK TO AVOID DEBATES OVER EACH OTHER'S INTENTIONS OR MOTIVES. THEREFORE, I AM NOT REMARKING ON THE POSSIBLE INTENTIONS OF ANYONE WHEN I SAY THAT IT IS AN OBJECTIVE FACT THAT A MARKED IMBALANCE IN TANKS EXISTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

21. WE CONSIDER THAT STABILITY IS ENHANCED WHEN ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THESE TALKS ARE ABLE TO SEE EACH OTHER'S PURPOSE AS A DEFENSIVE ONE, AND WHEN THEY PERCEIVE EACH OTHER'S FORCES TO BE CONFIGURED IN A WAY CONSIDSTENT WITH DEFENSIVE PURPOSES. A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION IN THE ARMORED CAPABILITY OF THE USSR IN CENTRAL EUROPE WOULD, IN OUR VIEW, BE CONSISTENT WITH DEFENSIVE PURPOSES, AND WOULD CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO ENHANCED STABILITY IN EUROPE.

22. THE THIRD MAJOR DISPARITY TO WHICH I HAVE RE-FERRED -- GEOGRAPHY -- IS ALSO BASIC TO THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THE US AND USSR, WHICH STATION SIGNIFICANT FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, ARE LOCATED AT SECRET

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VASTLY UNEQUAL DISTANCES FROM THE AREA. THE TERRITORY OF THE SOVIET UNION DIRECTLY AND IMMEDIATELY ADJOINS CENTRAL EUROPE. SOVIET FORCES, LOCATED IN SOVIET TERRITORY, HAVE READY ACCESS OVER THE POLISH PLAIN TO THE VERY HEART OF THE AREA. THE US, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS LOCATED AT A GREAT DISTANCE FROM CENTRAL EUROPE AND IS SEPARATED FROM THE AREA BY THE ATLANTIC OCEAN. THUS, ACCESS TO CENTRAL EUROPE IS FAR MORE DIFFICULT FOR US FORCES. THE GEOGRAPHIC DISPARITY HAS THIS CONSEQUENCE FOR MUTUAL REDUCTIONS: ANY SOVIET FORCES WITHDRAWN FROM CENTRAL EUROPE INTO THE TERRITORY OF THE SOVIET UNION COULD RETURN QUICKLY AND EASILY; US FORCES WITHDRAWN TO THE UNITED STAES WOULD BE AN OCEAN AWAY. THIS POINT APPLIES EQUALLY TO REINFORCE-MENT CAPABILITY. A REDUCTION AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE TO DEAL WITH THIS INHERENT INEQUITY IN A MANNER THAT DID NOT RESULT IN ANY DIMINUTION OF OUR SECURITY. THERE ARE ALSO OTHER GEOGRAPHIC DISPARITIES OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE.

23. IMPLICIT IN ALL THAT I HAVE SAID ON THE NEED

TO DEAL WITH THESE MAJOR DISPARITIES IS THE CONCEPT THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS MUST ACHIEVE EQUITABLE RESULTS, ARRIVED AT IN AN EQUITABLE MANNER. IN KEEPING WITH THIS CONCEPT AND WITH THE ACTUAL NATURE OF THE PROBLEM AT HAND, WE CONSIDER THAT AN ULTIMATE GOAL OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE APPROXIMATE PARITY IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING FOR THE GROUND FORCES OF EACH SIDE IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

24. OUR APPROACH TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS, AS I HAVE ALREADY SAID, IS A REALISTIC ONE. IN VIEW OF THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR INITIAL GOAL WOULD HAVE TO BE A MORE MODEST ONS THAN THE ACHIEVEMENT, IN ONE STEP, OF A COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

25. THUS WE CONSIDER THAT OUR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD PROCEED IN MORE THAN ONE PHASE. THE FIRST PHASE SHOULD FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES. THEIR

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 VIENNA 8965

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: U.S. OPENING STATEMENT

REDUCTION IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, WOULD BE A PARTICULARLY VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN EUROPE. MOREOVER, IT WOULD BE LOGICAL IF THE TWO LARGEST POWERS

WITH FORCES IN THE AREA SHOULD TAKE THE FIRST STEP.

26. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT REDUCTION OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WILL NOT OF ITSELF BE SUFFICIENT TO RESULT IN GREATER STABILITY. OTHER MEASURES WILL ALSO BE NEEDED. THESE SHOULD INCLUDE STABILIZING MEASURES, VERIFICATION MEASURES AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS.

24. FOR EXAMPLE, NOT ONLY THE SIZE AND CHARACTER, BUT ALSO THE ACTIVITIES OF ARMED FORCES AFFECT THE STABILITY OF THE MILITARY SITUATION IN EUROPE. THEREFORE, WE CONSIDER THAT MEASURES AFFECTING SECRET

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CERTAIN MILITARY ACTIVITIES ARE NECESSARY. AS PARTICIPANTS WILL BE AWARE, THIS IS WHAT WE HAD IN MIND WHEN WE INTRODUCED THE TERM "ASSOCIATED MEASURES" INTO THE COMMUNIQUE OF LAST JUNE. ACTIVITIES OF THE FORCES IN THE AREA, IF THEIR PURPOSE IS AMBIGUOUS, OR IF THEY ARE CARRIED OUT ON SUCH A SCALE OR IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO BE PERCEIVED BY OTHER PARTICIPANTS AS A POTENTIAL THREAT, COULD BE DESTABILIZING. AGREED MEASURES RELATING TO FORCE ACTIVITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS DESIGNED TO REDUCE THE POSSIBILITY OF MISCALCULATION -- THAT IS, WHAT MAY BE TERMED STABILIZING MEASURES -- WOULD BE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE AREA, AND COULD ENHANCE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. WE SHALL HAVE A NUMBER OF SUCH MEASURES TO PROPOSE.

28. IT IS ALSO OUR VIEW THAT APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS CONCERNING VERIFICATION OF A REDUCTION AGREEMENT WILL NEED TO BE AGREED. EACH PARTICIPANT OR GROUP OF PARTICIPANTS WILL WISH TO HAVE ADEQUATE ASSURANCE THAT THE TERMS OF A REDUCTION AGREEMENT ARE BEING FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT. THAT WILL CLEARLY BE IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL. IT WILL BE NECESSARY, THEREFORE, TO DEAL WITH THIS MATTERIN THE CONTEXT OF AGREEMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE OF REDUCTIONS.

29. WE CONSIDER THAT EACH PARTICIPANT WILL ALSO WISH TO HAPE APPROPRIATE ASSURANCES THAT EACH PARTY TO POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS WILL REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD CIRCUMVENT OR UNDERMINE AN AGREEMENT. WE WILL NEED TO TAKE THIS MATTER UP IN DETAIL AT A LATER STAGE IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS, WHEN THE OUTLINES OF A POSSIBLE REDUCTION AGREEMENT MAY HAVE BEGUN TO EMERGE.

30. WE BELIEVE, IN SUM, THAT APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS AND ASSURANCES REGARDING THE ACTIVITIES OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, REGARDING VERIFICATION OF THE OBSER-

VANCE OF A REDUCTION AGREEMENT, AND REGARDING MEASURES TO ASSURE THAT A REDUCTION AGREEMENT WILL NOT BE CIR-CUMVENTED, WILL BE NECESSARY TO PRESERVE UNDIMINISHED SECRET

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SECURITY FOR EACH PARTY. IN ACCORDANCEW TITH THIS SAME PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR EACH PARTY, WE WILL ALSO WISH TO ENSURE THAT AGREED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE NOT RESULT IN REDUCED STABILITY OR SECURITY OUTSIDE THE AREA.

- 31. FINALLY, AS A LAST MAJOR POINT, I WISH TO REMIND YOU OF THE STATEMENT MADE AT THE MAY 14 PLENARY OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS BY AMBASSADOR QUARLES VAN UFFORD ON BEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT AND THE OTHER GOVERNMENTS REP-RESENTED BY MY COLLEAGUES. THAT STATEMENT SAID THAT "THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BELGIUM, CANADA, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, LUXEMBOURG, THE NETHERLANDS, THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WISH TO POINT OUT THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PARTICIPA-TION OF HUNGARY IN THESE CONSULTATIONS ARE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE NATURE OF HUNGARY'S PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, DECISIONS, OR AGREED MEASURES OR TO THE SECURITY OF ANY PARTY, AND THAT, IN PARTICULAR, THE QUESTION OF HOW AND TO WHAT EXTENT HUNGARY WILL BE INCLUDED IN FURTURE DECISIONS, AGREEMENTS, OR MEASURES MUST BE EXAMINED AND DECIDED DURING THE PENDING NEGO-TIATIONS." THIS REPRESENTS OUR CONTINUED INTENTION.
- 32. I HAVE OUTLINED FOR YOU THE OVERALL AMERICAN APPROACH TO THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS. AS WILL HAVE BEEN EVIDENT FROM STATEMENTS MADE EARLIER, THIS APPROACH IS SHARED BY OUR ALLIES. OUR GENERAL METHOD OF EXPOSITION OER THE NEXT WEEKS AND MONTHS WILL BE TO PROCEED FROM THE GENERAL TO THE SPECIFIC. THIS INITIAL EXPOSITION OF OUR APPROACH TO THE SUBJECT MATTER HAS DEALT WITH GENERAL CONCEPTS. WE WILL RETURN TO THESE CONCEPTS IN OUR ENSUING DISCUSSIONS IN THE NEXT DAYS. WE HOPE TO ELABORATE ON THEM AND EXAMINE THEIR PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS WITH YOU IN INCREASING DETAIL.
- 33. I WISH TO STRESS IN CLOSING THAT MY GOVERNMENT ATTACHES GREAT WEIGHT TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE GOAL WE SEEK -- A MORE STABLE MILITARY BALANCE IN CENTRAL EUROPE AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES SECRET

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WITH UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR EACH PARTY -- IS OF IMMENSE POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE TO US ALL. SUCCESS IN

ACHIEVING THIS GOAL WOULD SURELY BE REGARDED BY ALL OUR PEOPLES AS A GREAT AND VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO A LASTING PEACE IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD. IN VIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS GOAL, IT IS UP TO ALL OF US HERE TO EXERT EVERY EFFORT TO AHCIEVE IT. WE, FOR OUR PART, ARE READY TO MOVE AHEAD.

34. ON BEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT, I WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE AUSTRAIN AUTHORITIES FOR AGREEING TO HOST OUR CONFERENCE IN VIENNA AND FOR MAKING AVAILABLE FACILITIES TO HELP US IN OUR WORK. THERE COULD BE NO BETTER SITE FOR THIS IMPORTANT CONFERENCE.

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